

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

On Tuesday (June 22d), in a committee on the Alien Bill, Lord Holland expressed his disapprobation of some of the leading clauses and provisions of the bill, and of so much of the principle of the measure as was connected with the same. He would avoid touching upon the general principle, as he despaired of convincing their lordships upon that head. With respect to the provisions of the bill, many of the leading clauses were, he contended, drawn up in a loose and bungling manner, and inefficient as to their professed objects. Could he obtain a modification of some of these, his present end would be answered. He disliked the provisions, as they went to entrust too much powers to individuals, particularly to justices of the peace, and above all those powers it vested in the Secretary of State. Under the late administration the principle of the bill was not adhered to; it was in fact converted in some measure into a Police Bill, and persons were sent out of the country for other reasons than those assigned in the bill. He animadverted in warm language on the conduct of, and alledged change of political principle in the noble duke lately at the head of the home department. The bill went to vest a power of perpetual imprisonment with the Secretary of State, inasmuch as it authorized the detention of the arrested alien until such time as he should be sent out of the kingdom. The language in which these powers were vested was vague and indefinite, particularly that which went to vest a power in the Secretary of State of acting on what he might "apprehend" to be just cause, &c. To do away these reprehensible provisions should, he said, be the object of his first amendment.—The preamble of the bill being postponed, and the clauses pointed out by Lord Holland come to, he accordingly moved an amendment with respect to these, to the general effect of providing, that the alien should, within a limited period, two months, for instance, have the cause of his detention investigated before a competent tribunal, and if found to be on just

and adequate grounds, that he should be then sent out of the kingdom, &c.—Some conversation ensued, principally between Lord Holland and the Lord Chancellor, on the regular form of putting the amendments, or rather arranging the mode of the intended discussion; the noble lord preferring the mode of stating his objections generally in the first instance, and the nature of the amendments he should have to propose, to the more strict form of stating his objections to every clause in a set speech, which would, perhaps, detain their lordships longer than might be agreeable. To this the Lord Chancellor replied, that he was of late so much in the habit of listening to others, that it was a matter of indifference to him, personally, whether or not the noble lord spoke till seven o'clock in the morning.

The amendment of Lord Holland being then regularly proposed, the Lord Chancellor took the opportunity to make some general observations on the measure before the committee. In his opinion, it was a difficult matter to say what, in sending aliens out of the kingdom, could, in strictness, be called a political purpose, as was alluded to by the noble lord; there were many cogent reasons to induce such a step, which may not, at first view, appear to be of that description. He would suppose the case of a people, let loose from all the principles of just or regular government, and who, with a determined profligacy, had endeavoured far and near to undermine the morals of the inhabitants of other countries, and to sap the foundations of social order therein. In such cases, would any man say, that a Secretary of State, or any other minister, when such principles were acted upon, who should not exercise the powers vested in him by the law, did not betray his trust? On this ground, with respect to what had been said relative to a noble duke not then in his place, he believed that minister would be found to have acted as a firm and honest man. With respect to the provisions so pointedly objected to by the noble lord, he certainly had no objection to their being softened, as far as was consistent with the



object; but he could not agree to the alteration specified by the noble lord, namely, to limit the period to two months. What he should propose on the occasion was, to apply such a clause as should obviate the leading objections, with reference however to the provisions of the treaty of peace with France, relative to the reciprocal delivering up to justice the description of persons therein mentioned—it would go generally to authorize, that when the person should not be sent out of the kingdom within a given period, after an application made to the Secretary of State, an appeal, if such a step should be necessary, might be made to his Majesty's courts of law, in order that the cause of detention may be investigated, &c.—The *Earl of Suffolk* observed, he was happy at hearing the intention of the noble and learned lord to propose an amendment to that effect, as he knew that much injury, under the administration of the late Alien Acts, had been done to individuals. He particularly instanced the case of an old man, distantly related to his lordship's family, a native of France, and who had instructed his children in the French language; he had known him for eighteen years, and at the period he alluded to, he was upwards of seventy years old; this person was, after a residence of eighteen years, commanded to depart the kingdom under an order from the late Secretary of State for the Home Department, at forty-eight hours notice. He was sent to France, and though he was connected with Rewbell, he was detained for more than twelve months at a sea port; the affair, upon the whole, broke his heart, and he died about twelve months ago.—*Lord Pelham* adverted to the obvious impropriety of bringing forward grave and weighty charges against noble peers in their absence. He knew not of the transaction alluded to, but from his knowledge of the character and principles of the noble duke, for whom no man could have a higher respect or attachment, he had little doubt of his having adequate reasons for his conduct, which the circumstance of the person being connected with Monsieur Rewbell the more inclined him to suppose him guilty.—After some further conversation, and the adoption of some slight alterations, the bill passed through the committee, *Lord Holland* having withdrawn his amendments.

On Wednesday (June 23) the *Earl of Suffolk*, in pursuance of his notice on a former day, rose to call the attention of the House to the financial situation of the East-

India Company. He set out with animadverting briefly on the late transactions in the Carnatic, and to posterior events relative to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude, both of which in his mind strongly called for legislative interference. He condemned the policy which led to this unjust usurpation of the territories of the native princes, and quoted the authority of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Dundas), late President of the Board of Controul, in his farewell letter to the Directors, in which he reprobates the extension of dominion as inconsistent with true policy, and destructive of their best interests. He lamented that the right hon. gentleman had not yet taken his seat among their lordships, for the greater part of what he had to state, applied particularly to the view which he had given of the state of the Company's affairs. The flattering prospect which that right hon. gentleman held out of the financial resource of the Company was totally dissipated by experience and facts. The debt instead of being diminished had greatly increased, and so far was there from being any just ground of hope that these embarrassments would be removed, that there was every reason to dread that they would be increased from year to year. The right hon. gentleman had been sanguine in his expectations that the resources of India would at no remote period not merely be adequate to remove the financial difficulties of the Company, but would furnish a source of revenue and profit to this country. How the present state of the Company's affairs justified any hope of seeing these expectations realised would, however, be best felt by appealing to existing documents. On this part of the subject his lordship accordingly submitted a variety of statements drawn from the report presented to the Court of Directors, by which it appeared that the debt of the Company was not less than twenty-two millions, instead of fourteen millions, as the right hon. gentleman had represented. To this was to be added a sum of about four millions due for the renewal of their charter in 1793, besides the expenses of the expedition to Egypt in case it should not ultimately be defrayed by government.—His lordship having stated and illustrated these several points, to which we have done nothing more but advert, he concluded with a motion for an account of the debts and assets of the Company to the latest period that the account could be made up.

*Lord Dartmouth* avoided entering at length into any discussion on the transactions in

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Oude or the Carnatic, imperfect as the information yet received was respecting these events. At present he could only express his most firm conviction, with every other friend of the noble persons principally interested in these transactions, that when the whole subject was fairly investigated, they would turn out, not merely not to their own discredit, but highly to their honour. In opposition to the melancholy picture drawn by the noble lord of the financial state of the Company, he had to conjure their lordships to indulge no such desponding apprehensions. The debt of the Company, it was true, had greatly increased, but had not their resources experienced a proportional augmentation. To establish this position his lordship read, from a paper he held in his hands, an extract of the comparative debts and resources of the Company in 1786, and in 1801, the result of which was, that there was no reason to apprehend that they would not be fully able to overcome any temporary embarrassments under which they laboured. When all circumstances were considered, it was far from a subject of surprise that the debt of the Company had increased. It was impossible to have carried on the long and expensive wars in which they had been engaged without a vast additional expense, but with attention, with vigilance and economy, there was every room for hope, and no ground for despondency. The motion was put from the woolsack, and agreed to.

The order relative to the Bill for the Prevention of Illicit Games, which stood for a third reading, being read,

*Lord Holland* rose, and stated a variety of objections to the bill, many of which were given in a strain of irony and refined humour. He considered the subject as unworthy the attention of the legislature, and argued that the existing laws were abundantly sufficient to counteract the evils the bill professed to remedy—indeed the interposition of the British legislature on such occasions as the present, reminded him of the anecdote related of the illustrious Newton, who, on that occasion, certainly did not reflect with his accustomed wisdom and philosophy. That great man having been by some accident shut up in a room, in which was also a cat, a hole was cut to admit the animal to pass in and out; but this cat soon after having a kitten, the philosopher recommended that a smaller hole should be cut for the accommodation of the kitten!—So was it with the legislature in the case before them, the existing laws

were abundantly sufficient not only for this, but for objects of greater magnitude, and which they effectually counteracted.—Under this impression, he would move that the further consideration of the bill be postponed for three months.—The *Lord Chancellor* left the woolsack, and though he thought that much inconvenience might be experienced, and much benefit lost by not suffering the bill to pass this session, agreed with the noble lord that it was a bill which ought to have been introduced at a much earlier period. At present the meaning and object of the bill were ambiguous, and without farther investigation absolutely unintelligible. Under the description of Little Goes he professed he did not pretend to know what were the different kinds of petty lotteries comprehended. Some delay for inquiry was necessary, and he should therefore propose, that the third reading should be on Friday.—*Lord Holland* withdrew his amendment, and the motion of the learned lord was put and agreed to.

After some debate on the Alien Bill, it was ordered to be read a third time tomorrow.

On Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, (June 24, 25, and 26) the House was occupied in passing the different bills, and concluding the other unfinished business of the session.

In the House of Commons, on Monday (June 21) some business of routine was dispatched, after which the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved his resolutions on the finances, which form a sort of reply to those of Mr. Tierney.\* On Tuesday (22d) the House attended the Lords to hear his Majesty's commission read for passing the bills agreed upon by the two Houses. On Wednesday (23d), after disposing of matters of routine, the House entered on the affairs of India. *Mr. Wallace* said, that in the investigation of a subject so important as the affairs of India, it was necessary to have every possible document that could throw light on the subject, from whatever source it was derived. He should, therefore, move for a paper, which was not, indeed, in any official form, but as it reflected upon the character of one who held a very high station in India, he thought it proper that it should be laid before the House. He then moved, that there be laid before the House a copy of a paper pur-

\* Both these will be found in the Supplement to this volume.



porting to be a letter of Hussem Ally, the reputed son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnson, Esqrs. his agents in London.—Ordered.\*

—Mr. Sheridan, after having spoken ironically of the speech which Mr. Nicholls intended to make the day before (when Mr. Sheridan had stopped him by counting the House), proceeded as follows: “whatever negligence,” said Mr. Sheridan, “may be imputed to my conduct, in other respects, I cannot be charged with having neglected to bring the errors of the governors in India before the public, and to enforce the necessity of punishing their crimes in an exemplary manner. He accuses my conduct of tending to occasion delay in an affair that requires instant consideration; but, in my opinion, his own conduct is more likely to produce delay: for what effect can a precipitate motion, founded on no documents, on no information, have, but to provoke opposition, and to prevent the voluntary efforts of his Majesty’s ministers to promote an inquiry?—In the method of conducting inquiries into Indian affairs, at least, I may boast I have had some experience, and do not stand in need of the directions of the hon. and learned gentleman. With regard to the time, the occasion, the manner in which it is proper for me to bring forward any motion, I hold myself bound to obey the dictates of no man. I shall act, in these respects, from my own motives, from the dictates of my own mind, and not be guided either by the whims or the feelings of others. On the present occasion, I have already stated, that there are only two ways of proceeding—either to discuss the whole of the Indian affairs with such imperfect lights as we have, or to defer the whole till we can procure more complete information. The motives that induce me to pursue the latter method, I have already stated; and I must do the Chancellor of the Exchequer the justice to say, that he has, in this business, shewn himself extremely willing to produce every document in his power, and has, in instance, shewn a disposition to keep back any information that has been required. He has even voluntarily moved for papers without requiring reasons to be alledged by others for their

\* The paper will be found, at length, in the Supplement to this volume.

production. When such was the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s conduct, it was impossible that I could follow any other course than that which I have at present chosen. I should not think myself justified in endeavouring, either by an inflammatory or declamatory harangue, to pre-judge the question before the necessary information respecting it can be procured. After the willingness which he had shewn to promote an inquiry into this subject, I need not inform the present minister, who has not hitherto intermeddled with Indian politics, and who is still unpolluted by the crimes of that government—I need not inform him, that this subject requires his most serious consideration. It is unnecessary for me to enter into a train of argument to prove the rights of the Indian princes to their own dominions. Since the settlement made in the year 1763, we have ourselves uniformly recognized the title of the rights of the Nabob of Arcot. Yet, in defiance of this right, the lineal heir of that dominion is now deposed by us on account of the alledged crimes of his grandfather and his father. In considering the evidence on which the reality of these crimes rests, it is necessary to inquire who were the detectors? we should be answered, the government of India. Who were the accusers? the government of India. Who were the witnesses, the judges, nay still more let us ask, who were receivers of the forfeitures incurred by these crimes? the government of India. In the government of India, we at once find the detectors, the informers, the accusers, the witnesses, the judges of the crimes, and the receivers of the forfeitures incurred by them. This, it must be owned, looks suspicious, and is surely alone sufficient to demand a serious investigation of the subject.” Mr. Sheridan concluded by moving, that the petition from the regents of the Carnatic, which he held in his hand, be received and lie on the table.—After some observations from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, tending to remove any suspicion that might be entertained respecting the propriety of the conduct of the governor-general and his noble relations, the House agreed to receive the petition.—Mr. Nicholls then rose, and, after lamenting that he was under the necessity of making a separate motion, and after some preliminary observations, moved, “that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to request that his Majesty

\* This has been in the House, and is pleased to



"will be graciously pleased to order such measures to be taken as in his wisdom shall appear most proper to investigate the claims of the East-India Company to the territories of the late Nabob of the Carnatic."—On the *Speaker's* inquiring who seconded that motion, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, "that the House do now adjourn," which was agreed to.

On Thursday (June 24) nothing of importance was done. The House, on the motion of *Mr. Wilberforce*, voted £5,000 to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth for his discovery respecting the prevention of contagion.

On Friday (June 25), *Mr. Tierney* having moved the order of the day for resuming the debate on the finances,\* a long conversation took place, which was closed by the statement of some opinions by Messrs. *Vansittart*, *Addington*, and *Sir Francis Baring*.—*Mr. Vansittart* took up that part of the subject which related to the probable progress of our revenue and the increase of our trade. It had been said, that the operation of the war had been to exclude rival nations, by our having the command of the sea, from meeting us upon an equal footing: that this gave us great advantages, and that peace would deprive us of these advantages. These were two points which he denied. He denied that we had greater trade by the war, except in one view, that of our conquests in the West-Indies; that in other respects we had lost much valuable trade by the war, and which trade we should now regain. Now it might be said that our manufactures flourished and our trade increased during the war, which was true; but they did not so increase and flourish in consequence of the war, or by the war, but they did so notwithstanding, and in opposition to the war. The war, as far as it operated on these points, instead of increasing our trade and commerce in itself, and independent of our conquests in the West-Indies, had an opposite tendency, and indeed must have it, by diverting a multiplicity of hands from productive labour; this must necessarily diminish, and that more than could directly be calculated, the real resources of a country; and peace had an opposite tendency, by increasing the productive powers of a country, and bringing with it advantages on the other hand which could not at once be calculated, and that

more especially in such a commercial country as this. This consideration led him to consider, that with the general prosperity of the country which peace would bring about, the revenue must necessarily flourish. For the revenue must flourish if the articles of consumption which bore a high duty were disposed of at home and abroad in larger quantities than formerly. This would be the case in most of the leading articles of taxation, a few of which he would enumerate, for instance, wine, tea, and sugar. The consumption of all these articles had greatly increased already since the peace. Here he entered upon an accurate statement of the consumption of these articles, comparing the late with former periods, and both with the present, by which his proposition was abundantly supported. He then proceeded to expatiate most ably on another important branch of this question, namely, the operation which peace must necessarily make on the immense capital which would be now employed more advantageously, and indeed more of it than could be employed in time of war. In the first place, upwards of 20 millions annually would be employed now in trade, which during the war was necessarily employed in loans. The advantages of which alone to trade would be prodigious, when it came to be all active in its operations on the productive powers of the country. This began to be already felt even in the public proceedings of that House, in the vast enlargement which had already taken place in every branch of business, as *Mr. Speaker* could pretty well testify from the laborious attention it exacted from him. To illustrate this proposition *Mr. Vansittart* entered into a comparative enumeration of the number of road, canal, inclosure, and other bills, beginning in the year 1782, and taking stated intervals down to the present period; upon which it again appeared that our trade and all species of resources were very rapidly increasing. He then proceeded to give some account of all the vessels that passed the Sound in the course of the war, to shew also how much tonnage of British shipping and how much foreign had been employed in our trade, &c. from which he again deduced that our trade did not increase by the war, but that, on a comparative estimate with that of the increase of the trade of America, and the northern powers of Europe, which had not been engaged in the war, comparing what they were at the beginning of the war, what they are now, and what we were then, and what we were at the end of the war; and

\* This gentleman has for several sessions last past been in the constant habit of making, what he is pleased to call, his "annual motion on finance!"



then he said that the war did not appear to have been the cause of our increase of trade in the tonnage of shipping—but that since the peace our shipping had already greatly increased.—From all these statements he concluded that our increase of trade, during the war, was not created by the war, but in despite of the war.—That since the peace, all the points on which the prosperity of a nation depended, had already increased, and were now increasing; that therefore the conclusion was fallacious, by which it was said, peace would contract our commerce.—*Sir F. Baring* adverted to the present state of the commerce of this country, and observed, it was very great at present, but expressed a conviction, that it could not continue. He looked to a considerable change in this respect, in the state of this country; it was not, indeed, a change from which he had any alarming apprehensions as to the general welfare of this country, but it was fit for the public to be prepared to receive it. There were millions to be struck out of the calculations, which some gentlemen had stated—there were some articles charged with a duty in time of war, which in time of peace they would not bear; and all the diminution thus created, must be considered as a defalcation in the revenue. There were many regulations wanting upon various heads of trade, and great encouragement should be given to trade by various regulations, otherwise we could not expect that any of it would continue with us. He took the article of tea by way of illustration, upon which he expatiated at some length, to shew what attention was due to the subject, and also to support the proposition with which he commenced his speech, namely, that the trade of this country cannot continue what it is at present.—*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after an apology for speaking so often as he had occasion to do this evening, expressed his disappointment at the opinion he had heard from the hon. baronet; and notwithstanding his authority, which was confessedly and deservedly very high, he must be pardoned from assenting to it. He had said that a part of our trade must necessarily decline in time of peace: he knew of no part of the trade and commerce of this country that must do so, except those parts of the West-Indies which we had gained by conquest during the war, and which we had restored by the treaty of peace. He doubted whether the sagacity of the hon. member himself could discover any other

part of our trade that was likely to diminish. That was a part which was certainly material to the revenue of this country, but he apprehended that this would be greatly overbalanced by the advantages alluded to by his hon. friend (*Mr. Vansittart*) of the productive powers of the country being so much increased as they must by peace, and by which he apprehended that our commerce would be spread still wider over the world than it ever had yet been. With regard to the particular branch of trade to which the hon. baronet had alluded, he could not help recollecting the provisions which were made in the year 1784, and any intentions to turn any part of our trade to our disadvantage by illicit traffic, or the like, might be counteracted in ten days perhaps, by a legislative provision.—*Sir F. Baring* said a few words in explanation. He said, he did not look so much to the defalcation of the revenue from the diminution of trade, as the right hon. gentleman seemed to imagine. A great part of the trade to which he alluded as likely to be greatly diminished, was one which until lately did not produce any thing to the revenue at all; he meant the transit trade. There were some millions in value now in this trade, which we could not maintain in the year 1803. We should not be able to keep it up. Foreign countries would not be able to keep it up with us as they did during the war—they could not afford it. Our ships were not now worth half the money they were 12 months ago. The different powers of Europe were too much exhausted by the exertions they were obliged to make in the war, to be able to trade with us, as they had formerly done. He did not mention this as an instance of adversity to this country at large, but merely as to the probable future quantum of trade.

The first question was then read, on the resolution of *Mr. Tierney*, and the previous question put upon it and carried. All the rest of *Mr. Tierney's* resolutions were then disposed of by the previous question—and then each of the resolutions of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* were put and carried.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then rose and said, he was extremely concerned in not having had it in his power sooner to call the attention of the House to a subject which he was about to mention, and which was of great importance. The House would recollect, that when the question had been dis-





cussed this Session on the subject of the Civil List, he expressed an intention of submitting to the House a measure to prevent the recurrence of another such application to Parliament. He conceived that he was pledged, and the House would pardon him, if he said the House was also in some degree pledged to the adoption of a measure upon this subject. He was extremely concerned that such a multitude of business which, the House would be aware he had been engaged in, had rendered it impossible for him to bring this subject forward this Session. He wished a minute examination to take place in the accounts, and then some arrangements to be made upon the matter. But this called for a degree of attention which his other and numerous vocations would not permit him to bestow upon it. He wished now to have it understood, that the intention he had stated some time ago upon this subject was not abandoned, and that he should lay before the House early in the next Session of Parliament, a proposition upon it, or that if it was not brought forward by him, it would be brought by some other person in his Majesty's ministry.

On Saturday (June 26) the remaining business was gone through.

On Monday (June 28) his Majesty closed the Session with the following most gracious speech from the Throne.\*

*" My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The public business being concluded, I think it proper to close this Session of Parliament.

" During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifested the just sense you entertain of the great trust committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unusually numerous and important, and I derive the utmost satisfaction from the conviction, that the wisdom of your proceedings will be fully proved by their effects, in promoting the best interests of my people throughout every part of my dominions.

*" Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" The ample provision you have made for the various branches of the public service, demands my warmest acknowledgments; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have shewn in exonerating my civil government and household from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

" Whilst I regret the amount of the supplies which circumstances have rendered necessary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the state of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which afford the most de-

\* The Speaker of the House of Commons made a speech, which will be found under the head of Domestic Occurrences, p. 789.

cisive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal resources, and of the growing prosperity of the country.

*" My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" As I think it expedient that the election of a New Parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a New Parliament,

" In communicating to you this intention I cannot suppress those sentiments of entire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, since I first met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our situation, required the utmost efforts of that wisdom and fortitude, which you so eminently displayed in contending with them, and by which they have been so happily surmounted. From your judicious and salutary measures during the last year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the severest dispensations of providence. And it was by the spirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to prosecute with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged.

" The same sense of public duty, the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will, now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage, by all the means in your power, the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

" My endeavours will never be wanting to preserve the blessings, by which we are so eminently distinguished, and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart."

After his Majesty had delivered his speech, the Lord Chancellor came forward and addressed both Houses to the following effect:

*" My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure that this Parliament be prorogued until Tuesday, the 17th day of August next—and this Parliament stands prorogued till the said 17th day of August accordingly."

After this formal prorogation was announced, the Commons withdrew to their own House, and his Majesty retired in the usual form.—The Sword of State was borne by the Earl of Rosslyn, and the Cap of Maintenance by the Earl of Morton.—The above proceedings concluded the sittings of the 18th Parliament of Great-Britain, and the first Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.



## PUBLIC PAPERS.

## A PROCLAMATION,

*For dissolving this present Parliament, and declaring the calling of another.*

GEORGE R.

Whereas we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to dissolve this present Parliament, which now stands prorogued to Tuesday the seventeenth day of August next: We do for that end, publish this our royal proclamation: and do hereby dissolve the said Parliament accordingly. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, and the Commissioners of Shires and Burghs, of the House of Commons, are discharged from their meeting and attendance on Tuesday the said seventeenth day of August next. And we being desirous and resolved, as soon as may be, to meet our people, and to have their advice in parliament, do hereby make known to all our loving subjects our royal will and pleasure to call a new Parliament: and do hereby further declare, that, with the advice of our Privy Council, we have given order that our Chancellor of that part of our United Kingdom called Great-Britain, and our Chancellor of Ireland, do, respectively, upon notice thereof, forthwith issue out writs in due form, and according to law, for calling a new Parliament: and we do hereby also, by this our royal proclamation under our Great Seal of our United Kingdom, require writs forthwith to be issued accordingly by our said Chancellors respectively, for causing the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, who are to serve in our said Parliament, to be duly returned to and give their attendance in our said Parliament; which writs are to be returnable on Tuesday the thirty-first day of August next.

Given at our Court at Windsor, the twenty-ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

## A PROCLAMATION,

*In order to the electing and summoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland:*

Whereas we have, in our Council, thought fit to declare our pleasure for summoning and holding a Parliament of our United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, on Tuesday the thirty-first day of August next ensuing the date hereof: In order, therefore, to the electing and summoning the Sixteen Peers of Scotland, who are to sit in the House of Peers in the said Parliament, we do, by the advice of our Privy Council, issue forth this our royal proclamation, strictly charging and commanding all the Peers of Scotland to assemble and meet at Holy-Rood House, in Edinburgh, on Tuesday the tenth day of August next ensuing, between the hours of twelve and two in the afternoon, to nominate and choose the Sixteen Peers to sit and vote in the House of Peers, in the said ensuing Parliament, by open election and plurality of voices of the Peers that shall then be present, and of the proxies of such as shall be absent, (such proxies being Peers, and producing a mandate in writing, duly signed before witnesses, and both the constituent and proxy being qualified according to law.) And the Lord Clerk Register, or such two

of the principal clerks of the session, as shall be appointed by him to officiate in his name, are hereby respectively required to attend such meeting, and to administer the oaths required by law to be taken there by the said Peers, and to take their votes; and immediately after such election made, and duly examined, to certify the names of the Sixteen Peers so elected, and sign and attest the same, in the presence of the said Peers the electors; and return such certificate into our High Court of Chancery of Great-Britain. And we do, by this our proclamation, strictly command and require the Provost of Edinburgh, and all other the magistrates of the said city, to take especial care to preserve the peace thereof, during the time of the said election: and to prevent all manner of riots, disorders, and violence, whatsoever. And we strictly charge and command, that this our royal proclamation be duly published at the Market Cross at Edinburgh, and in all the county towns of Scotland, twenty-five days at least before the time hereby appointed for the meeting of the said Peers to proceed to such election.

Witness ourself at Windsor, the twenty-ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and two, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*Treaty of Peace concluded at Paris on the 4th of October, 1801, between Spain and Russia:*

His Majesty the King of Spain, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being equally animated with a wish to restore the ancient friendly connexions, and good understanding that existed between their respective kingdoms, and desirous to effect this salutary purpose in the most expeditious and effectual manner, have authorized the undersigned plenipotentiaries to stipulate and declare as is hereby stipulated and declared:

Art. I. There shall be henceforth peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Spain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias.

II. To maintain and promote this happily restored order of things, the two courts shall appoint ministers to reside with each other, according to the ancient custom, who shall be nominated on each side by the beginning of the year 1802, or sooner, if possible.

III. Immediately after the ratification of the present act by the two Sovereigns, they shall publish ordinances in their respective states, enjoining their subjects to consider themselves as subjects of friendly nations, and in their commerce and other connexions, to conduct themselves as befits that state of peace and amity to which they are restored by the present act.

In witness of which, we have signed the same, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Paris the 4th of October, 1801.

J. Nicolas de Azara.

The Count Alcalá Maroz.

The above treaty was ratified by his Catholic Majesty, at San Lorenzo, on the 3th of December, 1801, and by his Russian Imperial Majesty, at St. Petersburg, on the 27th February, 1802; and the ratifications were exchanged by the plenipotentiaries at Paris, on the 5th of April, 1802.



LIBERTY.

EQUALITY.

In the Name of the French Government.

## A PROCLAMATION.

*The General in Chief to the Inhabitants of St. Domingo.*

Citizens,

The time is arrived, when order will succeed to that chaos which has been the necessary consequence of the opposition made by the rebellious to the landing of the army at St. Domingo.

The rapid operations and progress of the army, and the necessity of providing for its subsistence and its establishment, have, hitherto, prevented my attending to the definitive organization of the colony. I could not, moreover, have any fixed or certain ideas of a country with which I was totally unacquainted, and consequently could not, without mature deliberation, form an opinion of a people who have been, for ten years, a prey to revolutions.

The basis of the provisional organization which I shall give the colony, but which shall not be definitive till approved of by the French Government, is Liberty and Equality to all the inhabitants of St. Domingo, without regard to colour. This organization comprises.

1. The Administration of Justice.
2. The Interior Administration of the Colony combined with those measures which its interior and exterior defence require.
3. The imposition of Duties—the means of raising them and their application.
4. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Agriculture.
5. The Regulations and Ordinances relative to Commerce.
6. The Administration of the National Domains, and the means of making them most beneficial to the State, so as to be less burthensome to Agriculture and Commerce.

As it is of infinite interest to you, citizens, that every institution should, in an equal degree, protect agriculture and commerce, I have not determined upon this important work, without having first had recourse to, and consulted with the most distinguished and enlightened citizens of the colony.

I have, in consequence, given orders to the generals of the south and west divisions to select for each of these departments, seven citizens, proprietors and merchants (without regard to colour) who, with eight more which I shall myself choose for the department of the north, are to assemble at the Cape in the course of the present month, to impart their observations to me on the plans I shall then submit to their consideration.

It is not a deliberative assembly I establish. I am sufficiently acquainted with the evils which meetings of this nature have brought upon the colony, to have that idea. The citizens who are thus chosen, being honest and enlightened men, to them will I communicate my views; they will make their observations upon them, and will be able to impress on the minds of their fellow-citizens, the liberal ideas with which government is animated.

Let those, then, who are thus to be called together, consider this appointment as a flattering proof of my consideration for them. Let them consider that, for want of their counsels and advice, I might pursue measures disastrous to the colony, which would ultimately fall upon themselves. Let them consider

this, and they will find no difficulty in leaving, for some time, their private avocations.

Done at head-quarters at the Cape, 25th April,  
Year 10 of the French Republic.

The General in Chief,

(Signed)

*Leclerc.*

(A true copy.)

The Deputy Adjutant-General,

(Signed)

*D'Aoust.*

June 23, 1802.

The Consuls of the French Republic, on the report of the Minister of Marine and Colonies, and having heard the Council of State, decree,

1. The arrêt of the Council of the 30th of August, 1784, respecting foreign commerce in the French Isles of America, shall be executed according to its form and tenour at Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucie, and Tobago, as well with respect to the opening and identity of the ports of dépôt, as with respect to the species of merchandize permitted to be imported and exported. The formalities shall be fulfilled, and the duties received.

2. The merchandize and produce of which the entry is permitted into the colonies, designed in the first article of the present arrêt, shall be duly imported in conformity with the dispositions of the 3d article of the law of the 21st September, 1793; which shall be in like manner executed.

3. The duty received upon foreign cod fish, shall be six francs for five myriagrammes, in conformity with the arrêt of the 8th of March last.

4. The Ministers of Marine and Colonies, the Interior, and the Finances, are charged with the execution of the present arrêt, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of Laws.

(Signed)

*Buonaparte, First Consul.**H. B. Maret, Secretary of State.*

## FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

*Letter from the Prefect of Bourdeaux.**"Bourdeaux, June 20, 1802.*

"I was forced to write to you yesterday in haste, to announce the arrival in this port of the brig *La Caroline*, from Guadeloupe, in order to profit by the departure of the courier from Limoges, that I might transmit to you the dispatches of the Colonial Prefect Lescallier. You will have seen that they took possession of that fine colony without striking a blow, or firing a shot; but I think it my duty to communicate to you some details which I have received from the Prefect Lescallier.

"When the division of Rear-Admiral Bouvet appeared, the Prefect Lescallier was at La Desirade: he was taken on board the Admiral's ship, and thus obtained the means of proceeding with the army to Point-à-Pitre. The wind was very violent, and the sea very rough, so that they were only able on the first day to disembark the companies of Grenadiers and Chasseurs, who formed at the Port. General Richepanse then wrote to the Mulatto Pelage, who immediately came. The General ordered him to withdraw into their quarters the negro troops who were assembled on the shore in arms, and who were reconnoitering the Grenadiers and Chasseurs. This order was executed on the spot.

"The Captain of the Grenadiers then proceeded to the Fort which commands Point-à-Pitre, for the



purpose of taking possession of it. The black sentinel cried out that he should not enter: the Captain immediately ordered the *pas de charge* to be beaten, on which his company entered the Fort with so much precipitation, that a panic fear seized the negroes who guarded it, who escaped by means of a private staircase which communicated with the house or Pelage.

"The Mulatto Ignace, Chief of Battalion, and Palerme, a negro commandant of the place, fled with 250 negroes, and having passed the canal, they took refuge in the Fort of Basseterre, which is of little importance, and which was commanded by Delgres, a mulatto, formerly Aid-de-Camp to Captain-General Lacrosse. In spite, however, of this momentary insurrection of Delgres, and his followers Ignace and Palerme, the mulatto Gedeon, commandant of Basseterre, promised the utmost safety to the inhabitants of that town, and guaranteed them from all insult on the part of the insurgents, who had retired into the Fort.

"General Richepanse having disembarked the rest of the troops on the next day after his arrival, pursued the negroes, who had fled from Point-à-Pitre, taking the road to Basseterre, where his presence recalled to their duty the handful of miserable blacks, who were already conquered by the terror with which they had been struck at the mere sight of the Grenadiers and Chasseurs disembarked on the first day.

"Captain Caul, who commands La Caroline, reports, that at his departure from Point-à-Pitre, 800 men of colour had been disarmed and put on board the transport vessels, and that the Mulatto Pelage was a prisoner on board the ship of Rear-Admiral Bouvet, as well as the Ex-Captain of Port Mont Roux.

(Signed) "Aug. Bergevin."  
To the Min. of Marine,

#### DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

On the 28th instant, His Majesty closed the session of Parliament, and on the 29th, the Parliament was dissolved.

The notorious *Abbé Gregoire* is arrived in England, and has met with a most flattering reception from a no less notorious person in this country.

The following important articles are taken from the London Gazette of June 29th.

*Naples, June 9, 1802.* Charles Emanuel the Fourth, King of Sardinia, having by an instrument, dated at Rome, the 4th of this month, resigned his crown and dominions in favour of his brother the Duke De Aost, His Royal Highness has acceded to the crown, under the name of Victor Emanuel.

*Paris, June 17, 1802.* The Ottoman minister at this residence has this day received from Constantinople the act of accession, on the part of the Sublime Porte, to the definitive treaty of peace between

His Majesty and the French Republic, the King of Spain, and the Batavian Republic, signed at Amiens on the 27th of March last.

*Downing-street, June 29, 1802.* Accounts have been received here, that His Majesty's ratification of his acceptance to the King of Sweden's act of accession to the convention, signed at St. Petersburg the 17th of June, 1801, has reached Stockholm.

*Downing-street, June 29, 1802.* A dispatch has been received from His Excellency Lord St. Helens, His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at the court of St. Petersburg, dated June 3d, containing the particulars of what passed between the Count de Kotschoubey and Baron Stedingk, the King of Sweden's ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the occasion of the latter's acceding, in the name of His Swedish Majesty, to the convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, the 17th of June, 1801.

This dispatch states, "That he, (the Count,) after endeavouring to refute the various objections that had been urged by the Baron de Stedingk against the tenor of the Convention of the 17th of June, 1801, and to demonstrate to him that that Treaty presented to the Northern Powers all the advantages that it had been found possible to obtain, had proceeded to observe, that the antecedent Convention between Russia and Sweden having been in some sort broken by that which had since been concluded between Russia and England, and to which Denmark had also acceded, would certainly be advisable for Sweden to accede likewise to that Treaty, in order that she might not remain in a manner insulated, and that some common pact might still continue to exist between the Powers of the North."

On Saturday, (June 26,) the Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by several of His Majesty's ministers, the governor and deputy governor of the Bank of England, and many other persons of distinction, went in procession to the scite for the *London Docks*, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Hawkesbury, Sir Richard Neave, Bt. chairman, and Edward Foster, Esq. deputy chairman, laid the first stone, in which were placed two bottles, containing the gold and silver coins, and some of the medals of the present reign, and over them a plate of pewter, with the following inscription:—

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## THIS STONE

Was laid on Saturday the 26th Day of June,  
Ann. Dom. 1802,  
In the Foundation of the Entrance Bason  
of the  
LONDON DOCKS,  
Undertaken by private Subscriptions,  
for the  
Greater Accommodation and Security  
of  
SHIPPING, COMMERCE, AND REVENUE,  
within the  
PORT of LONDON,  
and

Pursuant to an Act passed on the  
20th Day of June, Ann. Dom. 1800.  
In the 40th Year of the Reign of Geo. III.

The Speaker, on presenting the Consolidated Fund,  
and the Irish Imports and Exports Bills, for his  
Majesty's Royal Assent, delivered the following Ad-  
dress:

*"Most Gracious Sovereign,*

"It is my duty to present to your Majesty, the  
bills for completing the supplies which your Ma-  
jesty's faithful Commons have granted for the service  
of the year.

"With heartfelt gratitude, they acknowledge  
your Majesty's paternal goodness and wisdom,  
which have already enabled them to make a large  
reduction of the public burthens, by the termination  
of a long and eventful war; a war just and necessary  
in its origin, conducted with energy, sustained with  
fortitude, signalized by triumphs surpassing the  
fame of our ancestors, and obtained in countries un-  
visited by their arms, and concluded at length by a  
peace, which has added new conquest to your  
crown, and given repose and safety to these its  
ancient dominions, whose Peers and Commons have  
now, for the second year, the happiness of being  
assembled in one United Parliament at the foot of  
your Throne.

"Thus circumstanced, your Majesty's faithful  
Commons not only look forward with a sanguine  
hope that they may not soon be called to the hard  
necessity of augmenting the public debt by future  
burthens; but they have deemed it their duty to  
look back to the debt already incurred: and with  
the same characteristic spirit, which first laid the  
foundation of an effectual system for the extinction  
of the National Debt, they have proceeded to ar-  
range and settle a plan for accelerating that ex-  
tinction, by pledging the future application of their  
growing means to the accomplishment of the same  
great object.

"At a time, when their attention has been di-  
rected to these considerations, and when they have  
also found that taxes of unprecedented weight,  
though wisely imposed to meet the exigencies of  
such a war, might nevertheless be now prudently  
repealed; it has given the highest satisfaction to  
your Majesty's faithful Commons, to relieve those  
pressing demands which the general difficulties of  
the times had cast upon the provision assigned by  
Parliament for the support of your Majesty's house-  
hold, and the honour and dignity of your crown:  
for this country has not now to learn, that its mo-  
narchy is the best and strongest security for its  
liberties; and that the splendour of the throne re-  
flects lustre and dignity upon the whole nation.

"These, Sir, are amongst the memorable events  
of a session thus far protracted; upon which we re-

flect with a conscious satisfaction, that to the dis-  
charge of great duties we have brought proportionate  
exertions. And we now indulge the flattering hope,  
that we may safely apply ourselves to cultivate the  
arts of peace.—Arts long dear to your Majesty and  
congenial to the temper of your people, whose spirit  
of enterprise in foreign commerce and internal im-  
provement, unexampled in its exertions throughout  
the war, may now expand itself with redoubled ac-  
tivity; and by providing new sources of strength  
and wealth for this country, fix the stability of our  
own power—and at the same time promote the  
common interests of Europe and of all the civilized  
nations of the world."

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In the present sheet we have closed our  
account of the Proceedings in Parliament,  
with the insertion of His Majesty's most  
gracious Speech from the throne, in which  
we find a word, unprecedented, we believe,  
in the annals of the British Parliament. To  
call, to prorogue, and to dissolve the Parlia-  
ment, are acts belonging solely to the pre-  
rogative of His Majesty, and they consti-  
tute, too, a part of the prerogative, which  
every wise and faithful Minister will guard  
with the greatest care and resolution. It  
appears to us, that this most important part  
of the duty of a Minister has not been suffi-  
ciently attended to by Mr. Addington, in  
advising his Royal Master not only to give  
the Parliament information of his intention  
to dissolve them, but, in some sort, to apo-  
logize for the measure, by stating its expe-  
dience.—"As I think it *expedient* that the  
"election of a new Parliament should take  
"place without delay, it is my intention  
"forthwith to give directions for dissolving  
"the present, and for calling a new Parlia-  
"ment."—The use of such language, it is  
to be presumed, could never have been ad-  
vised by any one unaccustomed to flatter  
the House of Commons. Every point, on  
which His Majesty may choose to touch in  
his Speech, is not, indeed, merely on that  
account, to be regarded as matter for Par-  
liamentary deliberation; but, this act of dis-  
solving the Parliament itself so essentially  
belongs to the King alone, and is a right  
which it is of such vast importance to pre-  
serve unshaken, that no word or syllable,  
that may, in the slightest degree, tend to  
call it in question, should ever, on any oc-  
casion, be made use of. The leading cha-  
racteristic, the ruling passion, of every po-  
pular assembly, is, *a desire to encroach*. If they  
are, this time, dissolved, because it is "*expe-  
dient*," they may, in future, wish for *proof of  
the expedience*. Further suggestions are not  
necessary to justify our regret, that His Ma-  
jesty has been advised to adopt the sentence,



which we have extracted from his most gracious Speech.

The dissolution of Parliament has already furnished some of the seditious with an opportunity of venting their malice against the government. By the *government*, we do not mean the *Ministry*, but the *Monarchy*, and the divers powers by which that ancient and sacred establishment maintains itself and extends its protection to those, who have the happiness to live under it. The people have been told, in two factious addresses in particular, that they are not represented in the House of Commons, that that assembly is no longer what it used to be, and that, until it be reformed, it is in vain for them to hope for any good from that quarter. The words, *representation* and *elective franchise* have done much towards confusing the brain and corrupting the hearts of His Majesty's subjects; and, though we have not the vanity to suppose, that we possess the power of dissipating the fatal delusion, it is our duty to contribute our mite in the attempt.

The maxim, upon which the enemies of the government proceed, is this: that a people are free and happy in the exact proportion in which their voice prevails in the election of those who make the laws; and, as the voice of the mass of the people here has, in truth, no very great share in the election of the House of Commons, they, of course, can enjoy but a small portion of freedom, and of that happiness, which it is in the power of law and government to bestow.

To *argue* against this doctrine would be useless: men have been disputing on it for two hundred years, and are as far from an agreement as ever. We shall, therefore, appeal from reasoning to experience; from theory to practice; from *opinions* to *facts*. Nor, shall these facts be drawn from antiquated history, the authenticity of which might be doubted, but from a state of things this moment in exercise. Again; they shall not be sought for amongst the Venetians, the Genoese, the Swiss, the French, or the Dutch, but amongst a people descended from the same stock with ourselves; speaking the same language, having the same sober temper, the same habits, customs, and manners, and differing from us only in those points where the revolution in their government have had an immediate effect.

It will easily be perceived, that we here allude to the people and government of Ame-

rica; and we shall, after a few prefatory remarks, extract a passage, from a pamphlet written by an American, an eminent lawyer of New Jersey, in the year 1799. The pamphlet was addressed to the people of that State; the author's name WILLIAM GRIFFITHS, whose object was to point out the evils of the government, and to prevail on the people to consent to a change. The "*elective franchise*" was as universal as ever Sir Francis Burdett could have wished it, and we now are about to see a fair picture of legislative assembly produced by that "inestimable privilege."

Our famous countryman, SWIFT, has compared the people, who choose popular assemblies, to those silly worms, which exhaust their substance, and destroy their lives, in making habits for beings of a superior order. With all due deference to such an authority, we beg leave to say, that the latter part of the comparison will not bear the test of experience. That the people, in the exercise of their imaginary rights and privileges, do exhaust their substance, and, sometimes, destroy their lives, is most certain; but, that they do this for the sake of beings of a superior order will be believed by no one, who has paid any attention to the objects of their choice, and who must, of course, have observed, that that choice does not unfrequently fall upon *bankrupts, swindlers, quacks, parasites, panders, atheists, apostates*, in a word, upon the most infamous and the most despicable of the human race; wretches whom no prudent tradesman would trust alone in his shop, and with whom any honest man would blush to be seen in conversation.

How happens it, that the people of America, for instance, are induced, in many instances, to commit their property and their lives to the guardianship of the refuse of the community? The Americans are, generally speaking, descended from the same ancestors with ourselves; they are by no means inferior to us in point of discernment; and their love of liberty, property, and life, is equal to ours. The cause of their preposterous choice is this: the mass of the people, of all nations, are so fond of nothing as of *power*. Men of sense know, that the people can, in reality, exercise no power which will not tend to their own injury; and, therefore, if they are honest men, as well as men of sense, they scorn to foster their vanity at the expense of their peace and happiness. Hence it is, that, in States, where the popular voice is unchecked by a royal or any other hereditary influence, that voice is, nine times out of ten, given in favour of those

\* These remarks are taken, chiefly, from Porcupine's Works, Vol. X.



lawning parasites, who, in order to gratify their own interest and ambition, profess to acknowledge no sovereignty but that of the people, and who, when they once get into power, rule the poor Sovereign, that has chosen them, with a rod of scorpions, affecting, while the miserable wretch is writhing under their stripes, to call themselves his *representatives!*"

Of all the tyrannies that the devil or man ever invented, the tyranny of an elective assembly, uncontrouled by regal power, is the most insupportable. When the tyrant is an individual, the slaves have the satisfaction of knowing their oppressor; they have the consolation of hearing him execrated, and, amidst their miseries, they are now and then cheered with the hope, that some valiant hand will bear a dagger to his heart. But, an uncontrouled elective assembly is an undefinable, an invisible, and an invulnerable monster; it insinuates like the plague, or strikes like the apoplexy; it is as capricious, as cruel, and as ravenous as death; like death, too, it loses half its terrors by the frequent repetition of its ravages, and, such is its delusive influence, that every man, though he daily sees his neighbours falling a sacrifice to the scourge, vainly imagines it to be at a distance from himself.

Now, for *proof* of what we have here advanced, we shall quote Mr. Griffiths's Description of the Legislative Assembly of New Jersey.

P. 109.—"It is impracticable here to enter into a detail of facts to prove, that the virtue of the legislature has been, and will be constantly assailed and overcome. It shews itself in the very formation of the legislature. No sooner does an election for a legislative assembly and council approach, than the question is not, who are the wisest and most disinterested, and of most integrity; but who will best answer the views of *party*, of private ambition, or personal resentment. In every county there is constantly a succession of people aspiring to appointments, civil or military: some desire to be judges, some justices, some majors, and some colonels; some have interests depending in the courts of law, and some, perhaps, have resentments against existing officers, and would fain oust them from their seats: all these, and a thousand more passions, are set to work; and nominations to the legislature are directed and supported upon principles altogether beside those, which should form the basis for a right election of legislative

characters: the result must, of course, be unfavourable to the public good. But this is not all; not only are elections rendered vicious, and the morals of the *people* corrupted in these struggles for personal advantages, but unhappily the *candidates* partake of the contamination: they must promise allegiance to their party; you shall be a judge, and you a justice; you a major, and you a colonel; you a clerk, and you a commissioner; I will solicit your cause in the Court of Errors, and will vote for your friend to fill a seat in the Judiciary. If these kind of illicit engagements are not publicly or directly entered into, they are sufficiently understood and guaranteed by those friends of the candidate, who take a leading part in his election. Instead of being elected with a national view, and for the purpose of forming general laws, for the more equal and salutary government of the people, the persons go there to represent the interests and gratify the desires of a few partisans in their different districts, upon the performance of which will depend their re-appointment at the ensuing election!"

"When the legislature is formed, then begins a scene of intrigue, of canvassing and *finesse*, which baffles all description, and is too notorious to require proof, and too disgusting for exhibition. The members of a county, in which an office is to be disposed of, are beset by friends and partisans of the candidates; their hopes and fears are excited, by all the arts which can be suggested; from these, the attack extends itself, till it reaches every member of the legislature; and so strong and so general does the contest become, by the different representations, having each particular objects to attain, that one grand scene of *canvass and barter* ensues: a vote for one, is made the condition of voting for another, without regard to qualifications; even laws which are to affect the public interest, are made the price of these interested concessions; and not unfrequently is almost the whole sitting of the legislature spent in adjusting the pretensions, and marshalling the strength of the respective candidates for office. To such a pitch has this grown, that even the members of the legislature complain of it, as an intolerable evil. These contests again lay the foundation for new parties and new resentments at the next election. To counteract the opposition which may be stirred up, all the appointments will be made, with a view to strengthen the interest of the sitting members. New commissions, civil and



"military, judges and justices, general officers, general-staff and field officers, will be made with a reference to the state of parties in the county, instead of being dictated by a quite contrary spirit. It is within the knowledge of those conversant in the courts of law, that in the counties, many of them are become mere political clubs. They take sides; and a man, before he brings on his cause, counts the heads upon the bench.

"The result of all this is seen and felt in every quarter. From hence proceed the jars and divisions which destroy the pleasure of social life in every neighbourhood and village; and from hence arises the instability of laws, the multiplication of magistrates, the weakness and division of the courts of justice, the heats and ill-directed zeal at elections, and that general languor and dereliction of principle in every department, which menaces the total depravation of the body politic."

Such, Englishmen, such is the description of a legislative assembly, where "equal representation" prevails, where almost every man has a vote at elections, and where those elections do annually recur. The ambitious knaves, who flatter you with high notions of your rights and privileges, who are everlastingly driving in your ears the blessings of what they call the "elective franchise," wish to add to the number of electors, because they well know that they would thereby gain an accession of strength. The only object that such men have in view, is the gratification of their own ambition, at the public expense; and, to accomplish this object, they stand in need of your assistance. There is a continual struggle between them and the legitimate sovereignty of the country, which restrains them from pillaging, oppressing, and insulting the people. Hence it is, that they are constantly endeavouring to persuade the people, that that sovereignty requires to be checked and controuled; in which nefarious endeavours, they are, unfortunately, but too often successful. How they would act, were they once to engross the whole power of the state, you may easily perceive from what has been disclosed to you respecting the legislature of an American republic. If you imagine, that you should be able to avoid the evils, which, from this source, the Americans have experienced, you deceive yourselves most grossly. They are as fond of freedom as you are, and they want no information, nor any good and great quality, that you possess; but, having been too jea-

lous of the royal authority, having lent their ear, and next their hand, to those demagogues who persuaded them that they were capable of governing themselves, they destroyed the only safe-guard of that liberty, for which they thought they were fighting, and the want of which they now so sensibly feel and so deeply deplore.

"Stick to the Crown, though you find it hanging on a bush," was the precept which a good old Englishman gave to his sons, at a time when the monarchy was threatened with that subversion, which it afterwards experienced, and which was attended with the perpetration of a deed that has fixed an indelible stain on the annals of England, blessed be God, we are threatened with no such danger at present; but a repetition of the precept can never be out of season, as long as there are Whigs in existence, and as long as there are men foolish enough to listen to their insidious harangues. The crown is the guardian of the people, but more especially is its guardianship necessary to those who are destitute of rank and of wealth. The King gives the weakest and poorest of us some degree of consequence: as his subjects, we are upon a level with the noble and the rich; in yielding him obedience, veneration, and love, neither obscurity nor penury can repress our desires, or lessen the pleasure that we feel in return; he is the fountain of national honour, which, like the sun, is no respecter of persons, but smiles with equal warmth on the palace and the cottage; in his justice, his magnanimity, his piety, in the wisdom of his councils, in the splendour of his throne, in the glory of his arms, in all his virtues, and in all his honours, we share, not according to rank or to riches, but in proportion to the attachment that we bear to the land which gave us birth, and to the sovereign, whom God has commanded us to honour and obey.

The Convention with the Northern Powers (see p. 788) has, at last, received the sanction of Sweden; but the language of the paper, in which the accession is communicated, fully proves, that even the little powers of Europe most heartily despise that nation, of whom they, heretofore, stood in awe. Here, indeed, were a subject of complaint worthy the mind of a British patriot; but, our modern patriots have no inclination to complain of those who disgrace their country. If they complain, it is because she is not disgraced enough; because she is not already ruined and enslaved. They are wonderfully vigilant as to the power and

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influence of their own sovereign; in their anxiety to prevent him from abusing his authority, they seem totally to overlook the danger that threatens both him and them.

The accession of the Porte to the treaty of Amiens is a matter of course; and, as to the resignation of the King of Sardinia, if it be at all a matter of surprize, it is because we know not what he has to resign, except it be the honour of being a slave to Buonaparté.

From the advices respecting Guadaloupe, it appears, that the subduing of that Island has cost the French but very little trouble. A detachment from St. Domingo (which will be the grand deposit of the army) has restored tranquillity, with as little bloodshed as a band of constables break up a two-penny hop. The *bravery* of Negroes and Mulattoes will, we hope, cease to be the theme of democratic admiration. These people, however armed and provided, are formidable to nobody but indecisive or cowardly assailants.

Some accounts of an insurrection of the Negroes in Virginia have appeared in the London papers; but, very late advices from that country do not speak of it as a matter of any importance. Trade had fallen off in America, the import trade in particular; but the great call for lumber and provisions in the French Islands (and which will now greatly increase) had, in some measure, compensated for the diminution in the carrying trade. According to all the accounts, which we have received from the United States, it appears, that the approaching change of masters on the Mississippi has created great alarm in the minds of all those, who are not decidedly attached to France. They see the change in precisely the same light, in which we have uniformly seen and described it; nor do they fail to inveigh most bitterly against the folly and cowardice of the British Ministers, in suffering Louisiana to fall into the hands of France. The enemies of Great-Britain (who are now louder and more insolent than ever) do, on the contrary, most heartily rejoice. With these people, the disgrace and ruin of their own country are trifles compared with the satisfaction of seeing England brought, at last, to the feet of her foe. Let not our Ministers indulge the hope of seeing a jealousy excited between France and America. Fear of France may be excited; it is already, to a certain degree; but it will have no other effect than that of increasing her influence. An alliance between England and America, for any purpose hostile to France, or for a defence against her hostility, is what no

Minister in his senses will rely upon. We lost the golden opportunity in 1797, and we may rest assured, that it will never return. It is often asked: "Will not America wish to see the power of Great-Britain preserved as a check to the power of France?" An odd question to be put by those, who have been accustomed to regard the loss of America as a blessing, and who, till very lately, have obstinately persisted in treating her with contempt. Miserable, indeed, is the situation of England, when her fate depends upon the mere inclination of any other power or powers of the world! The two last treaties of peace have made a new distribution of power, the effects of which will be felt, more or less, in all our future diplomatic transactions, but of which we shall not experience the dreadful consequences till another war shall unite against us the power of America and of France: then shall we be taught to estimate the politics of the Tuckers, the Beekes, and the Edens, of the Shelburnes, the Hawkesburies, and the Addingtons; then shall we be justly punished for our folly and baseness in listening to these peddling politicians, in tugging at the oar, of these grovelling statesmen.

The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia have, it seems, arrived at Memel, but the object of their meeting (if it has any object worth public attention) has not yet transpired. The Emperor of Germany has signified his *great satisfaction* at Buonaparté's being chosen Consul for life!—At the approaching fête of the 14th July, in France, the government has directed, that, in every district, there shall be celebrated a marriage of a young maiden with a young man, chosen from amongst those, who are distinguished for *acts of courage*.—The prefects and sub-prefects are ordered to act in concert with the respective municipalities in providing a dower for the maiden so married.

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*This number, which comes down no lower than the 30th of June, is the last of the FIRST VOLUME of this work; but, in order to complete the volume, a SUPPLEMENT will be published in about three weeks time. With this Supplement (respecting which a full account will be given in the next number) will be published, a title-page, a table of contents, and an index to the volume.*

*The note from the AUTHOR OF A LETTER, &c. came too late for insertion in this sheet.*

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#### PROMOTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

*Whitehall, June 26, 1802.*

The King has been pleased to order a *Congé d'Elire* to pass the Great Seal, empowering the Dean



and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph to choose a Bishop of that See, the same being void by the death of the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Lewis Bagot, late Bishop thereof; and his Majesty has also been pleased, by his Royal Sign Manual, to recommend to the said Dean and Chapter the Right Reverend Father in God Samuel Horsley, now Bishop of Rochester, to be by them chosen Bishop of the said See of St. Asaph.

The King has been pleased to grant to the Hon. Gerald Valerian Wellesley, Clerk, Master of Arts, the Place and Dignity of a Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, void by the death of the Reverend Doctor Joseph Hoare.

#### Downing-Street, June 29, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint William Fullarton, Esq. Brigadier-General Thomas Picton, and Samuel Hood, Esq. Captain of the Royal Navy, to be his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the Office of Governor and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Island of Trinidad.

#### Whitehall, June 29, 1802.

The King has been pleased to appoint William Adam, of Blair-Adam, Esq. to be his Majesty's Lieut. and Sheriff Principal of the Shire of Kinross.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE NAVY, JUNE 30, 1802.

	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In port and fitting . . . . .	16	2	28	59	105
In the Charnel, Downs, and North Sea . . . . .	0	0	20	40	60
West-Indies, and on passage .	24	2	34	40	100
American and Newfoundland	0	1	3	5	9
East-Indies, and on passage .	7	6	15	17	45
Coast of Africa . . . . .	0	0	0	1	1
Portugal and Gibraltar . . . .	5	1	5	1	12
Mediterranean . . . . .	15	3	31	33	82
Hospital and Prison Ships . .	3	1	1	1	6
Total in Commission . .	70	16	137	197	420
Receiving Ships . . . . .	7	0	6	1	14
Repairing for Service . . . .	17	1	6	1	25
In ordinary . . . . .	81	7	72	85	245
Building . . . . .	24	1	8	1	34
Total . . . . .	199	25	220	285	738

#### GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARMY, JUNE 30, 1802.

	Regulars.				
	Cav.	Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot. Ba.	Inv. Co.
England and Wales . . . . .	24	30	5	59	40
North Britain . . . . .	2	3	9	14	6
Ireland . . . . .	7	16	25	48	6
Jersey, Guernsey, &c. . . . .	—	3	—	3	20
Gibraltar . . . . .	—	10	—	10	—
Minorca and Malta . . . . .	—	7	—	7	—
Egypt, and on passage from .	1	4	—	5	—
Canara, Nova Scotia, &c. . .	—	5	2	7	—
West-Indies . . . . .	—	35	—	35	—
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.	1	7	—	8	—
East-Indies, and on the pas- sage thither . . . . .	4	19	—	23	—
On passage from Abroad . . .	1	—	—	1	—
Total . . . . .	40	189	41	220	72

#### PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent Red. Ann. . . . .	74½	74½	—	74	—	—
3 per Cent Consols. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent Consols. . . . .	90	90½	—	90½	—	—
5 per Cent Ann. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann. . . . .	21½	21½	—	21	—	—
D <sup>o</sup> Short 1778 & 1779 . . . .	5	—	—	—	—	—
Imp. 3 per Cent. . . . .	73½	73½	—	72½	—	—
D <sup>o</sup> Ann. . . . .	12½	—	—	12½	—	—
5 per Cent 1797 . . . . .	105½	105½	—	105½	—	—
Omnium . . . . .	½ pr	1 pr	—	½ dis	—	—
India Stock . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
D <sup>o</sup> Bonds . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
D <sup>o</sup> Old Ann. . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
D <sup>o</sup> New . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751 . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d <sup>o</sup> . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish Debentures . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. c.

#### LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 10 17½ us.	LEGNORN . . . . . 31½
D <sup>o</sup> , at sight 10 14 a 15	NAPLES . . . . . 44
ROTTERDAM. 10 18½ us.	GENOA . . . . . 47½
HAMBURGH. 33 3 2½ us.	VENICE, 59 livres piccolo
ALTONA . . . . 33 4 2½ us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day 23 17	LISBON . . . . . 67
PARIS . . . . 2 us. 24 2 liv.	OPORTO . . . . . 67½
BOURDEAUX, 24 3	DUBLIN . . . . . 12½
CADIZ . . . . 34 in paper	BILBOA . . . . . 36 D <sup>o</sup>
DITTO . . . . 35½ effective	PALERMO . . . . .
MADRID . . . . 34 in paper	Agio, bank on Hol. p.
DITTO . . . . 36½ effective	

#### PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat per q. 58 to 72	Hops per cwt. . . . 91 to 160
Foreign . . . . . 00 . . 00	Hay per load . . . . 75 . . 80
Rye . . . . . 31 . . 35	Beef, per stone . . . . 48. 4d.
Barley . . . . . 27 . . 31	to 5s. od.
Malt . . . . . 45 . . 52	Mutton 5s. 10d. to 6s. od.
Oats . . . . . 13 . . 23	Veal . . . . 4s. 6d. to 6s. od.
Pease (white) . . . . 35 . . 37	Pork . . . . 5s. 6d. to 6s. od.
Beans (horse) . . . . 30 . . 33	Tallow . . . . . 3s. 8d.
Flour per sack . . . . 50 . . 55	Average of Sugar
Seconds . . . . . 45 . . 50	per cwt. . . . 37s. 4d.
Coals per chal. . . . 33 . . 40	Salt, per Bushel. 14s. 6d.

Bread Ten Pence the Quarter Loaf.

#### OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of June, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds.		Barometer.		Thermo-	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
24		Fair.	N	N	29.9	29.92	58	63
25		Fair.	NW	NW	29.92	29.92	63	70
26		Fine.	S	S	29.73	29.73	65	69
27		Clo. Rain.	SSW	SW	29.51	29.48	63	59
28		Fair.	W	W	29.4	29.37	60	62
29		Squally.	W	W	29.4	29.43	55	60
30		Clo. Rain.	WNW	WNW	29.51	29.6	60	57

● New Moon ☾ 1st. Quar. ○ F. Moon ☽ Last Quar.